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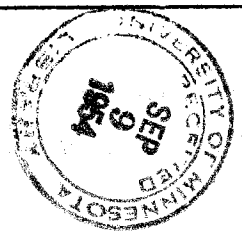

"HEROES": A DIME A DOZEN

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

ONE OF THE BIGGEST hoaxes ever perpetrated on the long-suffering American public is the persistent attempt of some "liberal" left wing publicists to create the impression that a rare quality of heroism is required to attack Senator McCarthy. If that were true, heroes must come a dime a dozen in these United States; and in the noblest ages of the human race this has scarcely been the case.

This hoax is part of a larger design to divert American attention from Communist imperialism, the greatest threat the American Republic has ever faced, with its internal fifth column, the American Communist party, to a synthetic sinister monster labeled "McCarthyism." The protracted hearings in Washington were a triumph for this design. At a critical juncture in international affairs high Army officers were away from their desks where they might have been more profitably studying maps of southeastern Asia. Legislators were kept away from their duties; a radio-television circus was put on for the nation, as the incredibly trivial details of the draftee experiences of Private Schine were raked over and over. Meanwhile the Communists remained uninvestigated.

The Communist party organ, *The Daily Worker,* is loudest in beating the anti-McCarthy drum. In one extra large issue in recent months, the paper focused primary attention on the Senator from Wisconsin, and painted the following dire picture of American liberty perishing at the hands of "McCarthyism":

" 'McCarthyism' is on a rampage. It is trying to browbeat into submission every independent point of view, every thinking person. It burns books and destroys art and culture. It aims to smash the labor movement, to further enslave the Negro people, to stir up racism and anti-Semitism, to gag the young generation and to wipe out all vestiges of liberty. . . . Thus the danger of 'McCarthyism', of American fascism, is real, grave and growing."

Many individuals who are not sympathetic with Communism have joined in this chorus: "McCarthyism" must be destroyed. Remember the leftist logrolling that went on in the years when the fate of China hung in the balance and Edgar Snow ballyhooed Owen Lattimore and Owen Lattimore ballyhooed Edgar Snow and Israel Epstein as great experts on the Chinese situation? The same sort of thing is going on now — on the issue of McCarthy.

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Elmer Davis, author of the nonfiction bestseller, *But We Were Born Free,* is praised as a man of extraordinary fortitude for attacking McCarthy. So is Edward R. Murrow for his radio contribution in the same field. On both sides of the Atlantic the legend is spread that McCarthy is an American incarnation of Hitler or Stalin, that anyone who ventures to criticize him is a person of the heroic stature of William Tell or Nathan Hale on the scaffold.

William L. Shirer, one of the leftist commentators whose misjudgments worked so much harm during the war and postwar years, has even written a novel, with himself as the thinly camouflaged hero and "Senator O'Brien," (a left wing caricature of McCarthy) as one of the principal villains.

IT IS NOT THE PURPOSE of this article to praise or condemn McCarthy or to cast up a balance-sheet of "McCarthyism." That has been done pretty competently by William F. Buckley, Jr. and Brent Bozell in *McCarthy And His Enemies* (Henry Regnery Company), reviewed in HUMAN EVENTS.

The purpose is to expose as a hoax and imposture the idea that any exceptional courage is necessary to express disapproval of McCarthy. Let's look at the record. Elmer Davis is collecting satisfactory royalties from his book, *But We Were Born Free.* So far as is known no bombs have been thrown into the office of his publisher, nor has any attempt been made to obstruct or interfere with the circulation of the book.

A few months ago Senator McCarthy dropped his libel suit against former Senator William Benton, of Connecticut, on the ground that no one believed Benton's charges anyway. Immediately it became the favorite indoor sport of McCarthy's ill-wishers to write signed letters to newspapers, announcing defiantly that *they* believed the charges; and what was McCarthy going to do about *that?* The answer to date is: precisely nothing. There have been no mysterious accidents, no unexplained disappearances of these public baiters of the Senator.

Suppose that two writers of equal ability would submit articles, one pro-McCarthy, the other anti-McCarthy, to any of our genteel and respectable monthlies. Is there the slightest doubt that the anti-McCarthy piece would automatically be accepted and the other be rejected? (The impartial reviewer whom *The Atlantic Monthly* found for the book by Buckley and Bozell was — Elmer Davis!)

The situation is similar in the academic world. Any professor who would say a good word for McCarthy would be "news," like the proverbial item about the man biting a dog. Any college faculty member, on the average campus, can evoke cheers with denunciation of McCarthy, Jenner, Velde and other "witch hunters." If a professor would say something complimentary about McCarthy, it would expose him to social boycott and probably seriously affect his professional career.

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Not long ago the normal rules governing the licensing of undergraduate organizations at Harvard were suspended for the benefit of a "Green Feather" group, the purpose of which was to distribute anti-McCarthy buttons. As the secretary of the Young Conservatives, another student group, observed: "If, before the Conservative League had been recognized, we had passed out pro-McCarthy buttons, we never would have been recognized." That is probably a pretty shrewd guess.

ONE WONDERS WHETHER those who grow hysterical about the allegedly dreadful atmosphere created by "McCarthyism" could point to one concrete case when a critic of the Senator has suffered any untoward consequences, apart from being exposed to the Senator's considerable powers of invective.

But "McCarthyism" has to be built up into an utterly unreal replica of Communist-Nazi methods of suppression and thought control as part of a still bigger design: the representation of America, since the death of Roosevelt, as in the grip of blind, unreasoning reaction. "Black silence of fear," says Justice William O. Douglas. "Reign of terror," echoes Bertrand Russell from England. And, on the basis of an American trip a few years ago, Lord Russell told the shocked readers of *The Manchester Guardian* that "nobody ventures to pass a political opinion without looking behind the door. If by some misfortune you were to quote with approval some remark by Jefferson, you would probably find yourself behind bars."

The unconscious humor in this last sentence is that recent years have witnessed an unusual outflow of books about Jefferson, almost all highly laudatory, and quoting with approval a great many of his "remarks." It would be safe to offer a very large reward for evidence that a single one of the authors or publishers of these books has been placed behind bars or otherwise inconvenienced.

If America is living under a "black silence of fear," the voices of protest are uncommonly loud and numerous. And the forums for these voices include leading newspapers and magazines and the Senate of the United States. Here is Senator Lehman, striking the heroic pose so popular with opponents of "McCarthyism":

"What would Patrick Henry and Sam Adams and Thomas Paine and John Randolph and Benjamin Franklin and Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson say if they were here to witness today's spectacle? Those early American patriots welcomed new ideas from whatever source. We are in heroic company."

A favorite theme with leftist spellbinders like Robert M. Hutchins and Henry Steele Commager is that teachers are turned into "second-class citizens" if they are required to take loyalty oaths. One wonders whether the President of the United States and the highest officers of the United States armed forces become "second-class citizens" — on this same basis of reasoning, or unreasoning.

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HYSTERIA IS THE favorite cliché of the crusaders who often extend their attacks on Senator McCarthy to all attempts to expose and combat Moscow's fifth column in this country. But what verdict except hysteria would a competent nerve specialist offer on this recent tirade by the chronic apologist for Yalta, Mr. Averell Harriman?

"This nation is being weakened by the excesses of our investigating committees, fantastic charges of treason against our honored statesmen, the obscene spectacle of distorted denunciation, the hysterical fear of Communist subversion, the erosion of civil liberties, the daily affront to human dignity . . . The contagion of meanness growing from hysterical fear of Communism at home is being spread to the very shield of the republic, our foreign policy."

Many factors enter into the determined concerted effort to "get" Senator McCarthy and into the larger effort to represent the United States as a country that has lost or is losing all its basic liberties. But a very important element in the situation is a guilt complex that many American intellectuals feel, or should feel, about the moral threat of Communism and the great threat to American security of Soviet-Red Chinese imperialism.

These threats would never have grown to their present proportions if the individuals who help to mold American public opinion, news and radio commentators, editors of the standard monthlies, professors and publicists, had been as alert to the menace of Communism in the thirties and early forties as they were alert to the evils of fascism. Most of these individuals by this time render lip service to the fight against Communism.

But their hearts are not in the fight. They look back wistfully to the brave new world envisaged by Franklin D. Roosevelt, a world where the Soviet bear and the democratic lamb would lie down and live peacefully and happily ever afterward. For these people it is a godsend to be able to train their batteries on a greatly exaggerated and largely imaginary dragon called "McCarthyism," thereby diverting the attention of the American people from the real and constant and mortal danger of Communism.

But they are likely to learn that Lincoln was right about not fooling all the people all the time. The fantastic imposture involved in crediting with exceptional heroism leftist criers of alarm who reap a rich harvest of royalties, journalistic "awards" of one kind and another, fat commissions from foundations and invitations to speak at commencement exercises is bound to be self-exposing in the end.

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* *Contributing Editors:* FRANK CHODOROV, WILLIS J. BALLINGER

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Texan Independence: One event has exceeded in importance even the fall of EDC — in the opinion of the veteran observers of the political scene. We refer to the re-election of Governor Allen Shivers of Texas, last Saturday.

Shivers is a conservative and his victory over a "liberal" (by a decisive majority) modifies the developing view that the South is turning against conservatism. The Texas Governor not only stands for states rights; he has a vigorous record for resisting the excesses of organized labor. He is also a strong anti-Communist and friend of Sen. McCarthy. In 1952, he deserted the national Democratic candidate and supported Eisenhower.

It was on this last action of Shivers that "liberal" opponents concentrated their fire — Shivers' party irregularity. The outcome suggests that a majority of Texans favor "independence" from partisan considerations. Since Shivers differs with Eisenhower on many issues, the interpretation — prevalent in the Northern press — of the election result as an "Eisenhower victory" seems rather exaggerated.

Shivers' victory (together with that of conservative Sen. Eastland in Mississippi a week ago) goes far to undermine the thesis that the South is "going liberal." Therefore, those who look hopefully forward to a realignment of parties find the event in Texas highly significant. Since Texas serves as a sort of link between North and South, the Governor looms as a potentially important figure for 1956.

This picture takes on more significance in connection with the many doubts that the Republicans can maintain control of Congress as a result of the coming elections. In the past 24 hours, from the back rooms of the GOP National Committee meeting in Cincinnati, comes word of one secret estimate that runs as follows: "If the election were held today, the Republicans would lose control of both Houses." This week the Gallup Poll indicates that the Democrats are gaining in the race for House seats. Gallup correctly points out, that while the Democrats have need only to take 104 of these contests to organize that body, the Republicans must win 212 seats outside of the South, or more than two out of three, to emerge victorious. This sobering figure may explain the privately expressed qualms of House GOP leaders.

Speaker Martin is said to have left Washington on adjournment without his usual boisterous confidence. Congressman Simpson, Chairman of the GOP Congressional Committee, yesterday claimed only a 20 seat gain for his party; observers consider this a comparatively modest boast from an official boaster. The GOP at present enjoys only a 4 seat margin in the House. Skeptical observers dwell on the fact that the Republicans now hold 4 Southern seats which they unexpectedly won in the 1952 campaign — 3 in Virginia and 1 in North Carolina. These are normally Democratic and reports from these districts suggests a return to the Democratic fold.

More and more it appears that realignment would offer the most practical solution of the overriding political problem of the country — the consolidation of liberals and conservatives in respective parties. And Governor Shivers, say Capital observers, assumes a decisive position in what is deemed the inevitable fight to create a real two-party system.

Hoover Appointment: How Herbert Hoover, Jr. came to be Undersecretary of State is an interesting story, as relayed to us from the highest sources. (HUMAN EVENTS on November 26, 1953 was the first publication to "break" the news that the son of the former President was being seriously considered for the job.)

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As a matter of fact, young Hoover was invited exactly four times by Secretary Dulles to take this important position. On the first three occasions, Hoover politely but firmly declined — partly for personal reasons, partly because he did not agree with the State Department's free trade policy. After three turndowns, top level officials in the Department felt that if they asked him again, they could count on another and final refusal.

This calculation — we learn — was part and parcel of a plan within the Department to promote Harold Stassen (now head of the Foreign Operations "giveaway" Agency) to the job. The idea was all the more welcome to Stassen — it is said — because that ambitious gentleman believed the job of Undersecretary would be a step up the ladder to the position of Secretary, succeeding Dulles. So, the fourth invitation to young Hoover was extended, more as a courtesy and routine matter than with any anticipation of an acceptance.

At this stage, the situation as outlined above, was brought to the attention of one of the most important personalities in the Republican party, a member of the conservative wing. No admirer of Stassen, this individual felt it most urgent that Herbert Hoover, Jr. should take the position. Hence, he pleaded this case with the one person in the Hoover family who could persuade Hoover, Jr. to accept. The plan was successful and consequently a number of higher-ups in the State Department were literally stunned when they received the acceptance of Herbert Hoover, Jr.

Point IV: There are actually two Point IV programs in existence — programs to develop backward countries. One is the program of our government on which we have already lavished many millions. The other is a UN program to which we contribute substantially. The Point IV idea — it should be pointed out — originally came from a Communist source. One can find the whole idea in a book published by an American Communist leader in 1939 — a scheme to make free use of American capital to promote Communism around the globe.

Now, Capitol Hill is talking bitterly of a UN trap into which we have walked. In the last session of Congress, the House Appropriations Committee struck out $18,000,000 requested by the Administration as the U.S. contribution to the Point IV plans of the UN. It did this because it believed that Communist technicians were being sent abroad by the UN under its program. Part of this appropriation was restored by the Senate when it was announced that the persons in question were primarily exiles from Eastern Europe — presumably Communists not loyal to Moscow. That the Senate should permit any Communist whether of the Kremlin brand or the Trotsky type to visit backward countries in official capacity on U.S. money is disturbing enough. But it is now clear that our contribution to the UN Point IV program for this year may be used in part to let Moscow Communists do the infiltrating.

On August 29th, observers at UN headquarters noted that UN only sends out technicians requested by certain undeveloped countries. Further, these observers considered it quite likely that the Soviet government would be able to persuade particular countries such as India or Indonesia and others to put in special requests for UN technicians who are citizens of the Soviet Union.

France Still Gets Dollars: One act of the last Congress aroused popular hope that our national legislators, weary of the malingering tactics of our European Allies, had reached the end of their patience and had wisely decided to get tough. In voting the foreign aid bill Congress inserted a provision barring more military aid to countries that failed to ratify EDC. For a time it looked as if we were going to abandon our ruinous policy of giveall and ask for nothing in return.

Popular hopes, however, were short-lived. The joker in the provision was that the cutoff date for more military aid was set at July 1, 1953. Congress must have known that the Executive branch had

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more than $10 billions of unexpended foreign aid voted by previous Congresses. So it turns out that although France has rejected EDC and given us the general run-around in using the billions she already has received from our taxpayers to build up military resistance to the Kremlin, Paris can still draw on us for funds — not used before July 1, 1953 — to the extent of $1,900,000,000. Likewise, Italy which is also certain to reject EDC can call on our taxpayers for some $900,000,000 if she does reject it. All this would come out of the more than $10 billions of unexpended funds.

Who Do You Know: Or, should it be whom? Anyhow, you know at least one person who ought to be reading HUMAN EVENTS. Send us his name and address, so that we may contact him. A hundred names would be better. (We promise not to mention your name in writing prospects.)

The Only Way: Military observers point out that there is no hope for the free world in the Far East unless we stop our blundering and adopt a policy that has some chance for success. Our record so far is one fiasco after another. Now that the French have suddenly quit in Indo-China after we had carried 65% of the cost of that war and had dropped over a billion dollars, the best that our State Department can think up is SEATO (South East Asia Treaty Organization) — an association of nations having interests but no military power in the far East.

Excluded from SEATO are the only two Asian nations with real military power — Korea and Nationalist China. They have been excluded for the reason that SEATO, unlike NATO, is not to make even a show of force against the Kremlin or Red China because the British are all against offending the Chinese Reds in any way. SEATO, says columnist Constantine Brown, is to be "a love and brotherhood" setup. There is, of course, the usual catch in all our foreign entanglements to date. We are expected to make a contribution for a "calories policy" which means that we are to pour out more of our taxpayer' dollars to raise standards of living in a part of the earth where the slightest improvement in such standards promptly results in more population and their decline.

This is stupid, say astute observers here. They point out that we could have easily brought Red China to terms in the Korean war by the simple expedient of blockading the Chinese coast (General MacArthur was fired for urging this). Some eighty per cent of the war supplies received by the Korean Reds came by sea. The single track Russian Trans-Siberian railroad could not possibly have saved them, and Russia would not have risked global war. Moscow let the Communists in Greece go down to defeat, did not dare to block the airlift to Berlin and allowed us to build airfields pointed at the heart of Russian industry. We ought to know — say these observers — that Red China will settle for nothing but all Asia and that she can only accomplish this goal by force as she has done in Indo-China. Therefore, they ask: "Why don't we serve notice on Red China that if she extends her military operations in Southeast Asia any more we will promptly blockade the Chinese coast plus something else? Instead of throwing away hundreds of millions on SEATO as planned, why don't we spend them on Chiang's forces in Formosa?"

General Claire Chennault, one of our ablest generals, pleaded with Washington to turn Chiang loose on Red China during the Korean war. Chiang has two million men of whom 600,000 are in uniform. They have the support of a million more in Hong Kong and some 12 to 15 millions overseas Chinese living in all countries of the world. The cost of outfitting a division of Chinese is only a fractional part of the cost of an American division.

The Chinese Reds, like their masters in Moscow, know only one restraining force — force itself. By spending on Chiang rather than on SEATO — by threatening to both blockade the Chinese coast and turn

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Chiang loose — we would have an effective trump card in our hand. And if the Red Chinese took us up, we would have a very bright chance of ultimately kicking them out of China with small cost to ourselves.

British Subterfuge: When the McCarthy committee exposed British trading with the enemy during the Korean War, the British at first denied the charge. When conclusive evidence was presented that they had been trading vigorously with the enemy, London's defense shifted. The claim was then made that the trade had been entirely in non-strategic items and, hence, innocuous. Secretary of Defense Wilson stated publicly that any trade with the enemy helped the enemy and was, therefore, not harmless. Pentagon sources also said that strategic items had been included in British trade with the Reds.

Consider the case of cotton as a perfect example of British adroitness. British vessels did carry cotton to Red China during the Korean War, but the British claimed that cotton was of no consequence to a war effort. Yet before America entered World War I, the British government placed American cotton destined for Germany or the low countries on its "prohibited" list, as helping the German war effort. At that time American cotton and American profits were at stake. During the Korean War it was a case of British cotton and British profits.

After the Korean armistice, British trade with Red China leaped — but British spokesmen kept up a continual chant that the British government was exercising the greatest vigilance to see that no strategic items were included. But now the Red Chinese government through E. C. Chen, Deputy Director of the Communist East China Foreign Trade Bureau spills the beans. He stated publicly (as reported by *The New York Times*, August 29) that:

1. During the first half of 1954 a total of 246 foreign vessels arrived in Shanghai. Of these, 182 (74%) were British.

2. From Western Europe, Communist China had imported such articles as metals, machinery, communication and transportation equipment, dyestuffs and chemicals. Metals imported included silicon steel plates, black iron sheets, tin plates, steel plates, steel pipes and hand tools. It is assumed that "Western Europe" includes Britain, as Chen described it.

If these are not strategic items then the word is meaningless and defies definition.

Education Front: A curious note occurs in the *Bulletin of Vassar College* entitled "The Governance of Vassar College" and dated "June Quarter, 1951." There, on page 25, we read: "Utterances and discussions in the classroom shall be regarded as privileged and may not be published without the authority of the teacher concerned."

Thus the apostles of "academic freedom" insist on hiding their light under a bushel.

● One of the most recent purges of conservatives in colleges occurred in March of 1954. As reported by the Boston *Post* (March 14), some 30 Harvard students tried to form a Harvard Conservative League, saying, "We are sparked by conscientious alumni who are justly ashamed of their college and we intend to give the full meaning to the word which appears on the shield of Harvard—*Veritas*."

Immediately the forces of "liberalism" began the purge. The *Crimson* "bitterly rebuked" the heretics. The Harvard Liberal Union attacked them. Dean Robert D. Watson said that he seriously "doubted if any group devoted to spying would get a charter." The Harvard Alumni *Bulletin* engaged in name calling, sneering at the groups as "the Boy Scouts." Quinlan J. Shea, of Barrington, Rhode Island, one of the organizers, was "threatened with bodily harm" if he continued.

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